



RAPTA TATIO.

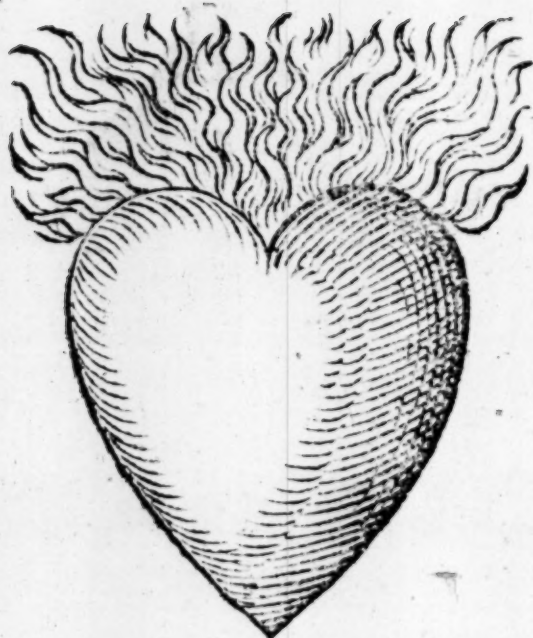
THE  
Mirroure of his Ma-  
iesties present Gouvern-

ment, tending to the Vnion of his  
whole Iland of Brittonic  
*Martiall.*

*Rumpatur quisquis rumpitur inuidia.*

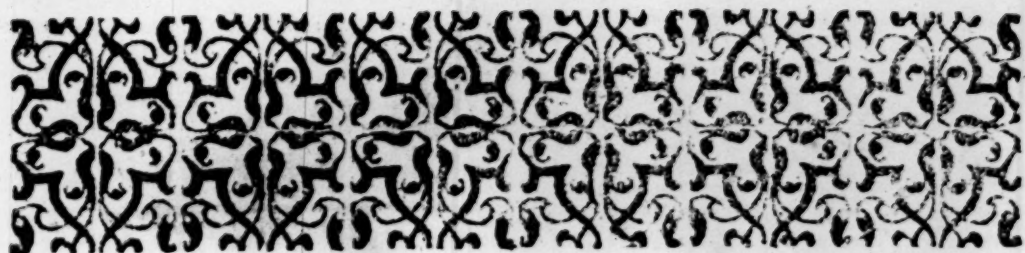


AT LONDON,  
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1604.



Ignibus vnionis ardens.





# To the Right Ho- norable and famous

Cities London and Edenborough,  
Yorke in the way not vnſaluted;  
*and to their Inhabitantes, and*  
Friendes of all conditions.



Ecauſe in you (eſpecially)  
be the newſes of all Common-  
wealthes cauſes; I chooſe you,  
to whom to dedicate the Diſ-  
courſes vpon the Vnion deba-  
ted. Of other natures are other  
Records likewise interſerted,  
as argumentes moderne in your dayly vſes. Bee you  
all ſtrong Friendes to this great good of your eſtates,  
and no partie ſhall be thought able to withſtand you,  
and your followers. My ſelfe begge nothing of you,  
nor ſeeke to borrow vpon credites; though I know you  
truſt much; and in ſo doing, giue it when you are not  
payde: But if I once ſee Bonſiers in you for this new

## THE EPISTLE.

Coniunction, yours wilbe the Chieftest benefite, mine  
a share of the Comfort. That if it happen to be con-  
cluded, burne my Bookes then, as part of Ioyes Fewell:  
If that misse good euent, and mine affection shall be  
suspected, or argumentes neglected, a badde Birdes  
ill Egge, I know, will not haue worse fortune. Howse-  
uer my Zeale is such to you, and to this Case, as I  
referre it and my selfe, humbly to your Censures: wil-  
ling to make my selfe better knowne, then when I  
shalbe assured I can deserue well of you: till which  
time come, gladdest if it were quickly, I rest.

Ever at your commaunde,

Your Country-man and a  
Battaine.



# The explanation of the Title, and application thereof.



**W**HEN the *Romaines* for continuance of their people and common-wealth, made Vnion with their Neighbour the *Sabines* and the rest, by taking their Daughters (though against their willes at first) to wiues, whom afterwarde prooffe shewed, they could not better haue bestowed: the chiefeft of the rest was reserved for *Tatius*: The credite of whose name was of such authoritie, that not the very enemies would make resistance. That if they then yeelded to, for a Noble mans fancie in his affection; let a generall good now, be more powerfull for a Kinges desire of a Common-weale.

*Hoc tantum inspice qui nobis paratur,  
An possit fieri vetus sodalis.*



# The Title.

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RAPTA TATIO.

*Hæc facies testatur amorem.*

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## Anagram.

AT AT PATIOR.

*Nec facies placet cui gelasius abest.*

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Vpon both.

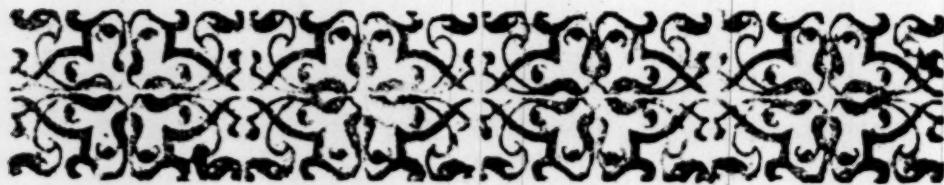
*Præda datur Tatio: mea miles vulnera porto:*

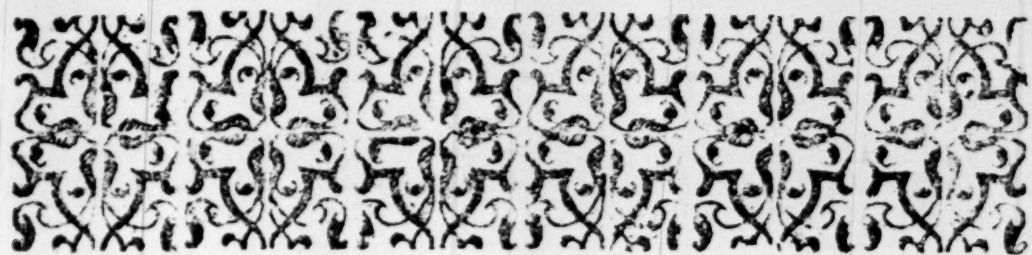
*ut verè dicam dum potior patior.*

*Sed modicum patiar, quia nisus nomine tanto,*

*et tanto fultus numine tutus ero.*

---





# Rapta Tatio.



Hauing (you great Citties and your friendes and followers) since I saw all vse of my poore endeours spared, or rather found disabilitie in them to afforde vse to the state, or person of my dread Soueraigne, or of his royall Quene, or ishew; sequestred my selfe from either sawcie intrusions or shamelesse suites; I thought I should so haue been forgotten, and might also haue been suffered without offence to forget: But so full are all thinges euery where of his Maestie, as euen in my retiredest priuatenesse, by Subiectes who could not iudge of ought, but what the Subiect enabled them to; neither take much ioy in any thing, but in Haruestes, Mariages, and Holydayes; nor speake for much more, then Nature and the Countries vocation gives direction for: I haue been assaulted with their welcome, yet vehement endenours, of exprelsing their ioyes for him; their comfortes in him; their hopes from him, their due-

B.

ties:



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ties to him; in deed their admiration, of not onely what they see, but what they feele themselves euen warmed and comforted by, not to all men in able Iudgement visible, but euey where by some vertue or other sensible: no lesse then they professe his Maiesties Proclamations to their vnderstandings notable; his caryage and manage of himselfe and his iudgement in treasons so little deserued, by Subiectes no-whit iustly agreed, taken to mercy besides all law, but that which his owne heart and vnderstanding inuented and affoordes; not a little rare, yet very royall. Aboue all it may be, (for being last in memorie) they seeme full of a speech his Highnesse made in the beginning of the Parliament: for place in such a session; for vtterance, so delyuered; vpon further suite and neede thereof so reitterated; the argumentes, so gracious; for vse, so necessarie; scene euen before prooffe so iudiciall; as when they of their kind could finde vnderstanding to commend, fulnesse to vtter; it so farre set on fire my spirit, to giue my selfe satisfaction about; as whether scorne to be ouermatched by those in that argument, or new desire enflamed to apprehend so glorious a world, gaue the instigation I know not; vp rose againe those spirits which had faythfully borne zeale (and that without fault otherways) to his Highnesse, when communitie knew him not; in dayes when Nobilitie created but sparingly of him; and the time had kept him



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him in breeding in a countrey fit to make him wise and hardy, as any of his auncestours; lesse soft and delicate then many of his progenitors. Pardonable then (I hope) it shall be esteemed, it to ioyne with the rest, or salute their gratulations to him first, what came from him, comes for him: the meditation of Subiectes wishes, the vnderstanding of many their senses, directed to acknowledge how vnworthy they are so gracious & so good a King, who publikely professeth to thanke them for that, for which, God and he himselfe is to be thanked, in that he was borne, and refuseth not his ende for which: who professeth peace; feareth no warres; standeth stily to religion with a prudent discretions; seekes vnions for vnities; giues his owne for the Common-wealthes cause the most, and yet accomptes to it for what he giues: doth all things as doubting which vpon tryall are surely placed. And though my selfe be too vnworthy to explaine what his Maiesties hidden prouisions are, of those which haue open shew for his Kingdomes good; and know how neare flatterie and grosse adulation plaine deliuerie and trueth comes: yet since they be good desires in others, none ill in my selfe, which haue stirred me vp to this presumption; and Vertue may be as confident to challenge her owne, as Vice is apt to borrow of insinuation; I aske leaue that I repress not my thoughtes in silence, neither spare to lay them downe so insufficiently, in so able

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an age. But yet daring no further, you may be pleased, as *Dionisius* made *Aristippus* belecue, that his eares were in his feete, to heare with your heeles: or if the worke be not worthy to be taken vp, it can not be vile enough, if it shall not be otherwise censured, hauing loue & duetie, zeale and care of countrey therein, to be trodden vpon. And herein what I shall discourse, as I haue caught it by vulgar relations, and remember it happely but vnfittingly for the vse should be made of it: so, if either I had had direction to write, instruction of occurrents, and priuitie to haue made right vse; my paynes should haue been imployed to haue giuen that satisfaction to this cause, which now I ayme at: and but onely for the gladnesse of the popular duty to so gracious a Soueraigne, I could not haue been thrust vpon. And herein I will not deale with my loue to them, as the Sleeper did with the Coniurer, who hauing told him, that a dreame of an Egge signified treasure, sent him onely of siluer and gould (whereof he had found some quantitie) a portion of the siluer, and put him to aske for newes of the Yolke *numquid de vitello*: for euen all the substance in my Shell, is wholly this argumentes: and the more deuoutly, since with *Deiotarns* our King is not building of Citties at the thirteenth houre of the day: nor with *Crassus*, at sixtie yeeres olde, beginning to march against the *Partheans*: but euen at his first entraunce, doth so addresse himselfe to his  
gouernement



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gouernement, as all are proude at this instant, who spake well before, and they who see him now, find abilitie to speake for euer. It shall not be sayd of him, he beares his time well, as if somewhat were to be allowed to his new enteraunce; but he vseth his time well. It was *Damasippus* fault to giue *Cicero* so much aduantage, hauing bidden him to supper, as by hauing kept his Wine fourtie yeeres in his house, to be subiect to his guesstes censur, that it bore the age well. This Kinges time came when it should be vsed, and is vsed when it is come: *England* allured not him to it, till it sent to him for it. He hath taken a state Captiue, by Gods prouidence, and his Maiesties good vsage of his guists: was not taken prisoner, as *Policrates* was by *Eurotes*: Therefore he pertakes Gods blessinges not against the Fates, but by direction of the Heauens. Before his Highnesse is treasure, in his comming hither: some (I hope) will finde it behinde him, if God bleffe the golden Mynes in *Scotland*.

*Cesellius Bassus* applauded *Nero* for being decre vnto the Gods, as in whose time onely, Gold long time hidde, came to light. There are (I cannot denie) who are so vnhappy, as to coniecture, that some that hath seene light, is gone that way to be hidde: But neither shall fayle the vse of this Kingdome, if God bleffe the ones finding, and graunt meanes to the others returning, since now the King hath propounded, that an vnion may be confirmed, the only



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meanes to draw al vses from thence, to the good of vs heere, without our losse in any thing, which with the gaine by this cause, will not be well requited; nor will it be long to the appearance thereof, when his Maesties subiectes shall be all conioyned, which are borne and inhabite within one continent, haue, and long may they haue the same soueraigne, suffer noe deuision, nor which euer did, other then what the Diuell drew on for the punishment of both; and it seemes Gods sacred ordinance, to mooue the Kings Maiestie to affect the amendes of, for the good of either. They haue reason to follow, where their King is; wee cause to imbrace them, who come with him. The Countrey besides is honored in his Highnesse, which bredde such a King, as liues to prooue (hath not a bare testimonie of a thing forgotten) more abilitie in him selfe, then *Darius* on his Tombe was commended for: *I was a friend to my friends, an horseman and bowman excellent: I was best of Huntsmen, and in my person could doe all thinges.* And shall not *Cirus* his counsaile to *Cambises* his soane, make vs more assured, to haue a Scepter compacted of multitudes of Friends, then of quantitie of Gold. And how can we compact them, but to make them like *Niobees* Tombe, being the Marble? *This Tombe hath no dead body; this dead body hath no Tombe: but the one is the other, and either is each.* And if friendship be as *Seneca* saith, *Negotiatio qua ad commodum accedit:* The King  
hath

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hath greatest cause (if their ingratitude shall not giue him cause to be weary of both) to ioyne them in strict bandes of all comfortable all entire & equall Loues betwixt them; since the greatest profite which euer can come to either of them, must be in seeing the welfare, and enioying the lyfe of him alone. Nor is it fitte that his friendes should not be vnited (I presume to call his Subiectes his friendes, as by a deare tytle, as well as humble); since better it is the King were not of agreeing harmonic in himseife, then where his friendes were naught, the King himsel'e were of good disposition. And if the difference were any, for the exchange: some haue sayd *Procul a loue et a fulmine*; the conuersations of Kinges haue euer been helde like the nature of the Flames, warme further of, and burning neerer. The King shall better repressse further off in this forme, by this meanes giue greater scope to the Subiect neerer hand: by that course, his further people shalbe made more ciuill (I speake of the priuater of them), these not so great flatterers, (I speake not much of the publicker of these) whose so often kneelinges, his Maestie, it is sayd, hath so much forbidden, as if he had scene *Tiberius* the Emperour fall on his face, running away from a fellow, who hung vpon him kneeling.

A Woman did the like vpon this our King at *Royston*, whose Husband, that he might liue disorderly with his Grey-hound, against the Kings Pro-



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clamation, left to liue orderly with his wife according to the instruction of Marriage. Yet as for the one, I meane not altogether the men of the Lues; (part of whose Countrey I had hoped, that ere this time, the battered Garrison of *Barwicke* should haue had) so I feare not much the other, who can onely alledge, *Offa me monet*, the King hauing Subiectes (of whom his Maiesties owne note is, that they were borne to haunt, shame, and starue himselfe) of able meanes to reforme them, by cutting off allowaunces.

The condition of those, I professe, to be more dangerous, who can amende mistakings: And to the question *quid brachium* can reply, *illud dicere volui femur*, who can either turne a Argument of strength into lasciuiousness; or can alter with occasion, and flatter euen vice, if they could here find it. But while ill things ought not to be commended, ill men can be allowed no fitte prayfers: *Seneca* in his Tractate of the honest lyte, sayth: *Wee ought to be as much ashamed to be commended of bad men, as if we were prayfed for ill conditions*. Reuerend and Worthy men hath the King to heare, as euer King was serued withall, both graue and wise: and wise and stoute: such as of whom it can not be layd, that they haue lesse of Eloquence then of Fayth; being as excellent speakers, as carefull doers: neither lesse Honor, then may commaunde ductie; being many by him selfe aduanced, others better



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better then alwayes confirmed, or more then before increased. They are they to whom the Law can not be vnpleasing, that *Amasis* King of Egypt made *ut singuli apud præfides provincie ostenderent unde viuerent*. That is in England on capitall head of many manifold vices, when men may liue by what meanes they can, onely answearing vnto publicke accusations; whereas how they get, what they spende; how they spende, what they get; how they outface meaner Magistracies; how they blinde greater, in causes of danger how they find many, and the Common-wealth few friendes; how they shift causes, and the Iudge neuer heares of them: for these, how much God is angric; their courses how easie it is in beginings to preuent: if counsaile of Counsellours finde other thinges more vrgent to their wisedomes, I remember what I wish the Common-wealth should haue cause to thanke them for.

These people will goe as neare Iustice and Lawes, and scape them, as *Domitian* could shoote neare through by a Boyes fingers, and misse them. This reuerend counsell, for hauing liued in Coutts, may they be more honored, then to be reuiled in Woodes? So let them know their seruices rewarded in lyuing; that dead, they be not abused by the lyuing: And if they may be amongst vs, who would be wise like them, let vs not put them from amongst vs, who haue more experience, and

C. haue

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haue had more priuitie then wee.

*Zenophones Colophonius*, who was called *Homeromastix*, in lamentation of his pouertie, told a King of *Cecely*, that he was scarce able to keepe two Seruantes : Yet quoth the King, he whom you rayle vpon, feedeth 10000. being dead : so are worthy men by meane ones defaced; so prattling knowes not it is sawcie; so come faultie humours to be vnpunished, because not seene; and not seene, because not regarded.

In *Rome* it is written, *Rutilius* and *Scaurus* had petition for a Consulship, and at last *Rutilius* gaue way to *Scaurus*. *Scaurus* accused *Rutilius* of Canuace, because in *Rutilius* his Tables was written *A.F.P.R.* which *Scaurus* did interpret as signifying done by the fayth of *Publius Rutilius*, *actum fide Publij Rutilij*, as if *Rutilius* had corrupted the voyces, and *Scaurus* could not haue been made Consull without *Rutilius* had renounced vnto him : But *Rutilius* made this interpretation, *ante factum postea relatum*, that first it was had, afterwards restored : as if *Scaurus* had by his name framed his Office, and he had been but the pronouncer of his reputation. *Caius Caninius* a Romaine Knight being on the part of *Rufus*, notwithstanding held, that neither interpretation was true vpon those Letters, but that they imported, *Amilius fecit plectitur Rutilius*, *Amilius* did it, and *Rutilius* suffered for it; that was, tooke the repulse. But I thinke both then : for neither



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ther are heere now.

In that time, where was the curtesie passed betwixt *Largius* and *Celius*, when they two spent the day so in commending one another, either for others worth to be elected Dictators, that scarce either of them could be appoynted on the second day of their choyce?

Where was then that humanitie which *Pompey* shewed, who being appoynted vnto *Metellus* his charge, because *Metellus* was elder and more noble in glorie, would not accept his preferment appoynted vnto him, vnlesse *Metellus* would desire his companie in taking share of his care?

This case had much other pleading when it was, and howsoever *Rutilius* was stucke vnto, yet *Cicero* gaue not all to that speaker; but in decision of the cause, hauing iudicially delyuered, turned his countenance vpon a worthy man of his fauour, concluding directly in the behalfe of *Scaurus*.

More did not *Tully* in any day shew himselfe maister of his cares, nor better at any time commaunde his tongue, to vtter his iudgement: Yet was that tryall onely brought in to take experience of duetic, fully necessarie for greater causes soone after to be propounded: This onely being like *Alcibiades* Dogge, sent through the Cittie of *Athens* with his tayle cut off vpon purpose.

C2.

That

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That as it was to try what woonders were there in that body, so this to discerne whether free tongues were walking, or not walking in your free Cities?

But howsoeuer, had *Augustus* his Iudgement, been helde as good as *Claudius* his benefite, the decision had found authoritie, not the authoritie decision. Then might the Souldier haue come to *Cesar* to aske his rewarde of pleasuring him, in a fitter time, then after he had lost one of his eyes at *Munda*.

But it may be in times foregoing, it hath been thought, that cleane obseruance was more worth, then holy ductie, to be honored rather skilfully, then deuoutly *coli scite quam sancte*: Yet doubt I, that word Cleane, had drunke too lately in the *Low Countries*, and signified rather litle in the scite, then mannerly in the obseruance. Or else as it befell, *Martiall* would haue his rule of louing accept Familiaritie, but admit no reuerence. *Tu vis coli Sexte volebam amore, Sed si te colo Sexte non amabo*. If otherwise, which I well beleue, and you great Cities may happely heare of that not want of particuler ductie, but care of generall good, makes refusall of that for the Countries cause, wherein a Kinges commaund had otherwise readily preuayled ouer his Subiectes: while the euent of the ones desire, the others refusall stood vpon vncertaine successes; and the fathers care might be thought



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thought impartiall touching his owne lawfull Children, though issued from diuers venters; what *Vigil* could not scite *Virgil*; what Watchman could not discern day then in view, then to follow his cullours with *Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro*? Nor could it be sayd, *O socij neq; enim ignari sumus ante malorum*, for of the contrarie wee haue had experience lamentable, of this which would haue yeelded comfort, such hath been our unhappinesse, though the Histories can tell you how sought, neuer occasion to any could wee take.

Better directions then happie directions, men can not receaue, such as either are affected to be followed for loue by hope, or men are wonne to embrace by reason vpon ground. Him examine by his owne, remember his life past so blessedly runne through, so mischieffously attempted; take view of his estate present, of our hopes of blessednesse by him; and thereby frame coniecture how fortunate his Highnesse may be in these his desires not withstood, but submitted to, by those who must leese liberties as deare as life thereby.

And should you not take him Kingly, but Philosophically; the rule for his condition fittes him, as his Scepter, for a King, becomes him.

A body strong, fortunes rich, the heart stoute, and braines learned, *Milesius* thought to be the seate of happinesse.

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*Plato* he platted five kindes of Felicities: good Counsell, good Health, good Fortune, good Reputation, good and falsely esteemed, (but neuer before other louers of Wisedome, loued them better then Philosophers) aboue all Goodes, Goodes.

I might add to make these goodes better, as greater for their qualitie, maketh not their price more then their quantitie aduanceth their reputation, euen goodes hanging vpon Ropes.

Of which kinde, to leaue the Kinges Maritime riches, in like whereof no Prince in the world is knowne to equall him: I may truly say, as he is farre from taking aduantages vpon those from whose indiscreete and vnworthy vsages, the hainousnesse of their crimes haue giuen their states and safeties away, so might so much moderation in cause of iust anger, haue giuen true tryall of none ouer great violence in matter of affection.

And were it not for the good of eyther, since hee hath charge of both, it would neither bee the draught of the one to what they seeke not, nor of the other to what they like not, that would make either Fancies seeme Faces, or Reasons almost Treasons.

Nor can I gesse whence no better satisfaction groweth, vnlesse Opinion may be helde of the highest



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highest estate, to be as *Pliny* writeth of Fortune, that shee is the Goddesse who in the whole world in all places, at all howers, with all voyces, alone is called out vpon, alone is named, alone is accused: who hath the onely guylt, the onely estimation, the onely prayse, the onely blame: and with inuectiues is worshipped, with flaunder cherished, in inconstancie thought constant: to whose charge is layde the maintayning the vnworthiest, the accompt of all expences, the catalogue of all receites, and the filling vp of each Leaues either part in the blottes of all reckonings, and the setting vpon all Audits.

If not so, with reuerence and loue may I speake it to your Cittie-assemblies, Tables as you may thinke priuate and secure, be too little prouident; no lesse was the Frenches confidence, who to shew their not fearing *Alexander*, could instance in nothing to giue them doubt, but in the heuens falling.

Yet certainly as *Abimelech* being hurt by a Stone from the Castle, whereinto the *Israelites* fledde, throwne downe by a Womans hand, desired rather that a Souldier would kill him, then that by so weake an hand he should perish: So is it euer to be feared, that greatnesse can nowhere suffer contradiction with content, where the cause is reasonable, and affection Royall, in the vnderstanding.

It

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It may be neuer theleſſe, that *Pompilius* thought a Circle ſcoared by a Rod, could giue lymits to conſultation, as *Intra hunc conſule*. The intendment of ſuch Circles, were to combine mens ſeates and endeuours by freedoms to aſſiſt euery one the moſt he could, not with liberties to foreſtall ſingular men peremptrorily, thoſe propoſitions which come but newly into conſultation, being neither raſhly, nor meanely commended. Thoſe ends had no Celticke boldneſſe appoynted to them; they were not to be ioyned with contempt of ſaſetie. There was not intended that with the blood of *Hanniball*, ſhould be made ſtrong the league with *Rome*. There was no Priuiledge to engadge that offence which no memory could euer remit, if the after ſucceſſes ſhould accuſe the then reſolued iudgements. The *Scottiſh* in this age, nor in thoſe to come, ſhall in this Kingdome get the beſt offices alone, feare ye not; nor let others affright you therewith. But as the Kinges Maieſtie contendes to haue the State generall, and publique weale of the whole Iland, to which he is equally by God appoynted in beſt order; ſo propounds he, that it may be free for the beſt man of thoſe, who are his native Subiectes, borne and inhabiting within the ſame continent, and none otherwiſe deuided by *Twede*, then others of his Subiectes are by *Trent*, may haue place for his goodneſſe to ſerue the Commonwealth in.

Such



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Such is his Maiesties royall disposition, to chuse the best from the most, and to get it enacted, that the left hād, though not so much heretofore vſed, shall now bee knowne to bee a parte of the same body, & receiue the same nourishmēt by the same passages, and do naturall seruices, as none artificiall member. But why we should so much doubt them, see I not so much cause. In all men now liuing is not the appetite of *Diogenes* deceased: he being asked what kinde of wine he wold gladliest drinke of; answered, of another mans: for of those there are many wil not change their own setlings, & too many who haue pensions elswhere already, & some are going further for better profits: all of whome great offices in this kingdome doe not expect, nor wold they euer be suters for them to sit about them. Yet do you thinke it better and lesse dāgerous to admit too great hopes at home, then safe for a common wealth to permitte too much certaintie of engagement abroad.

This was it of which *Horace* said, that the hornes had hey vpon them, flie those beastes, *Fœnum habet in cornu, longè fuge*. This Frenchman is black, *Hunc tu Britāne caueto*. Nay, I may tell you that this nation is so well traueled, hath so much addiſtion to see further, as it wil well ioin to draw your looser abroad, by encrease of strength; your richer home, with support of wealth. And whether such dispositions are likely to hold, they who haue tra-

D

ueiled

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ueiled can best discern, who haue seen vs foraign-  
 ly loue & take parte against all natiōs ech with o-  
 ther, when we liued domestickly scarce friends, &  
 daily occasions giuen why we shold be more dis-  
 joyned. Too much occasion hath ben geuē why  
 secret remēbrances might hold; some in act, some  
 in fact: but so blessing of vs is God, so gracious to  
 vs is our King, so prouidēt are they cā forsee this,  
 as the storiye moderne may now be corrected as  
 Martials epigrams might be amēded, which whē  
 many interlineations, many scorings, could not  
 perfit, *una litura potest, spongia sola potest* : many a-  
 pologies, many periuries, many simple denials,  
 many beings out of the way, many facings to the  
 teeth, many accusatiōs of his better subjects, ma-  
 ny combinations of packes together, though all  
 these shold be & many more, can neuer or not al-  
 waies hold all in, or all men : only this asks pardō  
 & saies nothing, this takes reuenge & doth good  
 together. Now let vs haue none aliens, none at-  
 tainders, be al free as wee may bee, noble as wee  
 shold be. Let the same hād, which endeuored hurt  
 or was mistaken, heal & be rightly vnderstood. If  
 there be impedimēts outward, remooue them; if  
 imward, aduise them. *Licurgus* being demaunded  
 how the enemies forces might be abādoned; an-  
 swered, if they would continue poore, which this  
 age yeelds no disposition to : & if they woulde lay  
 by ciuill dissentiōs; which is best done where sin-  
 guralities are auoided, good only affected. But if  
 the



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the best should come, to the eagerest satisfaction: & yet it is lesse valew to defend then assault: lesse hability to deny, then to proue: & that very to do good is more suspected, then ill doing deemed faulty: the wisdom of *Pisistratus* must yeeld to the wilfulnesse of his childrē, or else others must take aduātage by their debate. The story saith that whē as *Pisistratus* had giuen right aduise vnto his children, & could not get theyr cōsent vnto it, & thereby was vrged to stād in some question with them for their disobediēce; finding his enimies reioiced therat, as hopeful that frō that dissētion som alteratiō might growe, hauing called his citisens together, he made thē publikly know, that true it was he had bin āgry with his childrē, for that they had not agreed to their fathers desires: but afterwards it seemd good to his fatherly piety to descēd into their opiniō; therefore he would haue the city to take knowledge, that the islew of the king were accordāt vnto the wil of the father. So was that good *Pisistratus* driuē rather to giue away his own interest, then to let others take auātage of their dissentiō. Touching whō if the father shold haue said as *Diogenes* answered the poticary, how shold he not belecue that ther were gods, when he knew him enemy to them. Why it shold not be feared that oppositiō to greatnesse, in a cause indifferent, might teache greatnesse how great it is in a cause that were iust, be you Iudges *quo iure quaque iniuria*. But it may be in your great cityes and amongst

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your followers and friendes, there are diuersities of resolutions, though not *quot capita tot sensus*. For it may bee some cannot finde meanes of deliberation, vnlesse their respites of iudgement may be enlarged to *quantum diutius cogito*. Others happily may fulfill you with so many reasons, as vpon some kinde of inditement might hang a subiect, had but half an one more ben added; so fruitfull they seem to be of cōceits, though their reuenues of reasons, in this cause to be spent, would hardly maintaine an army, to fight with arguments an whole yeare in open battail against this vnion. But many had those need to be, could refuse a natiō so welcom, at an imbracement so necessary. Why should we sticke vpon needlesse feares? *Degeneres animos timor arguit*. Why should we, being grown into the peace of Ireland, say, that *anguis latet inter herbas odoriferas*? An wholsome country breeds no serpent: no fraud lurks in honest meaning. But these improuisions to this vnderstāding are to be attributed to late times foregoing: wherein the sexe could not by any indeuor meditate things so proper for the estate, as improper for their persons: neither were their opportunities alike, whose fortunes suffered enemies to their gouernment, as are his who is offered friends for his own sake, for his Queens bloud, to his country nōw more respected. Yet let vs admit the bounty of *Semiramis* toombe, on which was in a written direction expressed



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pressed that those who wanted mony might take there what they would: within notwithstanding was opposed, that vnlesse men were ill & vn-sati-able of coin, they would neuer dig vp the coffins of dead persons for it: So keen they were in those dayes to intice the worlde to take out this lesson, That affection should not alwaies aduenture the vttermost, that liberty giues shewe to haue ge-uen allowance for. Yet let calumny be set apart in your cities, & the matter not reuiled with the infamy of the worde, S. George shall not go so long on foote vpon this arraunt, that the most naturall English man shall finde him surbated in his journey. Be not deceiued yee cityes & your friendes: for these are but sclender aydes offered to any, when their assistaunces makes only the furtheraunce, where the encrease brought addes nothing to the strength settled. VWho speakes in you, either finde your applause, or leaue their arguments helplesse. Your pleasing countenances, hauing made the first speech seem sound, the rest encrease, as Hydraes heads multiplied. Hee, who sittes down amongst you, happily hath seriously thought vpon what he deliuers, & therinto hath wouen his affection and reason together: do not you approoue it, till you haue adiudged the one, disseuered the other. One man happily the good sound of his owne words well placed, another the mirth of his iest well formed, hath se-duced

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duced in their iudgements of their owne discourses, by whose errors shold your wisedōes be vndermined, it wold be said happily you were eyther cōcordant by clamor or allured for fancies. Shal you who haue bōfir'd & pageāted for a king, are the glories of his state, now scāt him his honor in appointing your goods? Shal it be said of you, who haue so wel fashioned out this triūph hitherto, that you can not maintain your selues out, as incōstant, or for disability must *in extremo actu deficere*? Then bring the honest yong mā, the modest yong maid together, let them wooe, & their friends for them; let them be made sure by a contract in forme; let the cheer bee made ready, the day appointed, friends inuited, fiddlers called, giue & take you parents & children on both sides; eate, drink, dāce, court, & make more matches, til day & half night be spē: then refuse your bridegroō, for what mariage was instituted. There are many deuises to blind good mening in these ages; supposed catholikes may be attempted to be supposed puritanes; a factiō in alliāce may make offer to arraigne an honest mā's argument. With these be not you deceiued: but let your appetits be only your goods, your wiis your weales. Think fit that Soueraigns in their weldoings should be pleased; and not in theyr good affections diseased. Know that a Monarch is but one as alone; the discourses and arguments brought into you, many.

And wil not you expect, that so many wisedoms,

as



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as inhabite and ride vpon you, shall drawe one propositiō, framed for your good, to the content of him to whom the thanks is due? Shall not you like of a state framed to honor a King, who brings a King a true honor to a state? Tell them who dislike most, they shall haue more habilitie, and be better defended, when you shal be all your selues; then now, when a few prime men, either in parts or partaking, seeme to nicke vp vpon their opinions the iudgements of so many graue and wise men as are said to hold consort with them in their voyage. Can any men fear the King of Englands place hereafter to be lost; & not inough care for the King of Britaines loue now to bee retained? That, though for his constancy hee cannot withdraw, for his place he may not; ought he not so to be regarded for it, as it may be retained in him with his comfort? Is it feared that by this appellation we shall be made fellows to the Brittons the theeues; rather are we not doubly by this meanes insiled of Fraunce where dwell the canuascoats? I call you to witnesse, wee put not Stangatehole out of Huntington shire, Shooters-hill out of Kent, nor other places of robberies out of English shires, nor our selues leaue to be called of that countrie if wee had birth, or haue landes in them, notwithstanding the robberies done vpon them, as odious as are the robbers.

They who haue hability to speake against this  
Vnion

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Union that it may not bee; cannot they (thinke you) defend it when it is? the inconueniency being all that is pretended, or disproportion of affection, the dishonesty nothing, the vnlawfulnesse not otherwise discerned then knowne as little. The vse of all things is all: the reason applied to any thing prooues, the affection loues, the sight beholdes, and offices perfourme their functions, not alwaies as order leades, but sometimes best so vsed as occasion serues. *Ἀκμὴν χρόνου* the greekes call *Punctum temporis*: which who so hittes, if either he do it suddenly, *O quantum est subitis casibus ingenium!* or necessarily, *sapit, necessitati qui probè se accommodat, et est rerum diuinarum atq; humanarum conscius.* Can any perswade you who do the like honour to the King, how vnlike soeuer this dayes garments are to yesterdayes roabes, that the difference of an enstilement shall make him lose the honor of his place, the reputation of his nation? True it is, where persons were vnknown, & kingdomes vnheard of, Titles should haue reputatiōs as their wordes could signifie: but then they must so begin, as weapons were first found out, if you will belecue *Horace*, which was when men went together by the eares, first, *unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atq; ita porro pugnabant armis quæ post fabricauerat vsus.* In this case where the kingdomes accompt cannot bee blemished, and almost the Kinges woonder hath bene euery where euen adored



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dored, in that age let those who like not to giue him his due in a session or otherwise, find then he knowes what he is now: which god graunt alwayes to send, may encrease vpon him. Slightly as I heare of argumentes tossed amongst you, so gladly desire I to settle you touching thē: leauing with you my protestation of reuerence humble, and loue faithfull, towards all such as with vnderstanding affection stād vnder any burthen for the good and honor of theyr mother earth, and her children. Against which, if for flattery to the Scottish I shall seeme to haue written, let my brybe be iudged of; som of them hauing part of my liuing, others hauing torne in sunder my reputation: yet since my bane came from the English, they trespassed not in wisdom to take aduantage thereof. And that mine hands may appear the cleaner, as yet my dread Soueraignes haue not don ought for me, of much I dare boldly yet prostrately auow, I haue well deserued, & both fauor of lawes of Court and Country would assist me in right to. Yet doubt I not theyr royall natures, nor misdoubt mine own patience, knowing it eyther well to becom my duety to expect their princely pleasures, or otherwise ready to credite their iudgements, touching me, rather then to giue scope to mine owne hopes of aduancement, or good from my Soueraignes. But all else set apart, and free lie to deliuer mine impartiality in this cause, so safe I

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hold

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hold this for vs to obey our King in; so comely to welcome the nation with; so politike to close at this infolded imbrace; as I suspect not but all will be best being best vsed: and of the rest, let them rather doubt, then we feare. Many mēs turns haue bene already serued, the Kings owne comfort is yet in petition: he ioyes not so much to be a King for his pleasure, as to be a good King for the states weal. His Maiesty takes now the first opportunitie, the flies are now not so busye: holesome counsel hath poured balme vpon opportunity in asking, magnificence in graunting. Yet are many the pretences may draw Kinges to be bouitiful: of which if you haue not elsewhere takē good view, you may here iudge of some, being parte of many thousands. Kings somtims are euen forced to grāt, not so much for their desire to bestowe, as their shame to denye: *Non tam studio quidem concedendi, quàm verecundia negandi*. Some haue vsed this argument, you know what my need requires, *Scis quid mihi opus sit*: when there was more need of *Hoc opus est subito fias ut sidere mutus*, that they had wayted as dombe as the stars do on the sun. Some sayd *Regi hoc dare nō conuenit*, a royall King must make his gift magnificent: When as *Nec Cynos accipere decebat*, Beggers should haue ben no chusers. More suters fall on vpon Kings: one who for his wisdom, *quia rarissimè*: another for his conceit, *quia iucundissimè*: a third who for his attendance



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dāce, *quia tū prādet et cœnat cum Alexādro videtur*,  
 seek for gifts: certain *Calistbenesses* aduised by *Aristotle*. Others can often remember their seruices,  
 praying rewards to be bestowed for those causes,  
 and for that in no fortune they had ben from the  
 Kings person: *Sylas* from *Agrippa*. Some haue as-  
 ked, as more learned then their fellowes, for ha-  
 uing giuē causes of things: as why the liōs deuou-  
 red not Daniel. Some for limping if the king lim-  
 ped: hauers & hūters, the fashiō of the Ethiopes.  
 Some for sitting late vp by him in the night, and  
 praying his royall Children: *Cato* the younger  
 from *Diotarus*. Som must take, lest they should be  
 vnciuill in refusing: *Zenocrates* from *Alexander*.  
 And they must be giuē to, to try their good man-  
 ners in accepting. Som for their softnes must beg;  
 hauing no fingers as may be supposed on theyr  
 hāds, & therefore driuē to wear their rings in their  
 ears: the seruāts of *Penus* in *Penulus* in *Plant*. Som  
 requited for their presēts: *Siloson* with *Samum* from  
*Darius*. Some must buy, because they offer deare,  
*multis precibus*, with much suite. Som must be giuē  
 to, though naughty persōs: *Mores miseratus non ho-*  
*minē*, for pittie not of the man but of his māners.  
 Som bouitfully dealt with, though not frō a kings  
 hart, *nō homini sed humanitati*, a gift bestowed vpō  
 curtesie not māhood.

Al must be grāted by a king: for that he is as a god  
 vpō the earth. *Dixi quod di estis*, saith the Psalmist,  
 I haue saide yee are gods. And that is to imitate

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god to be bountifull. Petitions were long since growne so vsual, as *Seraphion* would not strike the bal to *Alexāder* in the Tēnis-court, vnles he begd it himself: *Non præbes* saith *Alexāder*; *Inimò nō petis* saith *Seraphiō*. Yet in som times the gifts were but such as *Lupus* gaue to *Martiall*, whē as he writ that he had a whole cūtry bestow'd vpō him, lesse then was one in the bowpots in a corner of your neater Citizēs windows: such a country, as in which a Cabbage would make a whole wood, ouer which a Grashoppers wings a tent, which to an Ant was but a daies feeding, and might be crowned with a Rose bud; in which were two herbes onely growing, wherein a Cucumber could not stād vpright, nor a Snake ly at ease: which one Mole could dig vp in a day, one Mouse destroy as fearfully as the Calidonian Boare; & hath many other descriptions in his epigram to *Lupus* expressed, concluding that he had rather haue had a dinner then no deneer, *prandium quàm prædium. Nam quo tempore mihi prædium dedisti, mallem mihi prandium dedisses.* In others, gifts had good fortune: as whē *Aristippus* sayd of *Dyonisius* the younger, That the king was safely bountiful and magnificent, because he saw *Plato* send him back his gifts againe. In others they had good vse: as when *Fabius Maximus* bestowed on *Marsus*, a valiāt souldier, no very great gifts, to keep in very great spirits. The antient boone of *Leuidente* none begs: which was a  
warme



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warne but light, yet cōmon garment Many now craue in many places; not so much for want of sufficient, as because though they know some haue more then inough, yet they would bee loath to haue lesse then theyr fellowes: struiuing as Otacilius did to equall Torquatus: of whom it is written that as the ox burst the toade, so the one of them would split in emulation of the other, *ut bos ranam rumperat olim: sic puto Torquatus rumpet Otacilium*. Milesius was wont to say, there was no such way to make a man quietly suffer aduersity, as the knowledge that his enemy was in worse prosperity: and think you, that emulatiō, in this, works not as much, as, in the other, malice? For this cause did the brethren of Ioseph sell the son of Iacob vnto the Arabian merchants. For the other, did Casselius find out, that a Pyne tree nut was an apple, if it were to be thrown at Vatinius his enemies head. Horace bestoweth much description vpon those who wold haue none so great as thēselues, and tels the tale of the toade, *vituli pede pressus*, who told her dam, when she saw her swell to be as great as the calfe, *Non si te ruperis, inquit, Par eris*. But though it were vnfit in kings causes, Martials counsell to Flaccus was vnhappy, which aduised to keep that to himselfe which hee had purposed amongst others; when as the offence of many, who should not get, was dangerous, the bestowing vpon al burdensom. *Demeruisse duos votum est:*

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*offendere plures vix tutum: Cunctis mittere dona graue.* Our Soueraigne, as his goodnesse is great; so his rewards, his gifts, his aduancements haue not bin smal. Tully had not so great cause to brag of his Quæstorship well discharged in Sicily, when he came home to Rome; as some giue shew of our Soueraigns bounty, who passe from one of you to another. Howsoeuer, it may truly be said, it hath rather bin a Royall king then an yeares Magistracy yet performed, hath aduanced Tully to salute Roome; so glorified from Sicily, so enuyed at home. Take it not ill then (Tully) if no body at Roome woulde talke to thee of thy Quæstorship, of the news of thy cariage wherein thou thoughtst, to haue found all men full. And why should not such gifts, as they cary, be bestowed by him, who hauing long staied for power, ought now only to affect glory and good will? *Prius* said Antigonus *mihi opus erat potentia; nunc verò gloria et beneuolentia*. What other humane indeauour hath this worthy king more seriously taken in hand, then the benifiting of his & the countries friends, the recōcilemēt & agreemēt of the enemies of both? whereof the one, as they were made vp, partely by his loue to his country, his desire to honour it, to aduāce hir saln nobility, to requite such as had deserued best of her, to giue many more then theyr own, since the country had so gladly giuen him his own: partly by those he brought with him, who  
had



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had some of them bin rescuers of his life, som extraordinary assistants of his estate, others such as he could not but reward here, for seruices performed there, where memory was the rewarde hee cold properly giue, & was all in their honors they would willingly take. So enimies to kings do oft-  
nest grow, either by wāt of what ambition made them desire; or for lacke of what expenses had drawn into waste: Els some somtimes affect what blind zeal makes them think fit, or fals iudgement rather false harts will not let them see pertinent & proper. But as his Maiesty hath, no more then was fit, rewarded the first; vnlesse they can say to him as the yong man saith in Terence, *Nescis quid mihi obtigerit*, you cannot tell Sir what hath lighted vpon me: So hath he mercifully spared the other; insomuch that he hath neither cōfiscated them, as Tiberius the Emperour did the kings of Spaine, Sicily & Greece, *ob leue impudensq; calumniarū genus*: for any light or shamefull kind of slander: nor fined them as Cassius did Sylla, & Calphurnius: from one of whom he took *quinguagies sestertiū*, & frō the other *sexagies*, Himselfe, being for any riot he is addicted vnto, as free frō wāt either of ought belonging to himself, or for his couetousnes frō need of any thing others possesse. But either at petitions of faire Ladies, none offenders; or for som respects laid before him by his wiser Nobility; either else for pure inclinatio vnto mercy; hath benefited *Sylla*

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*Sylla*, been steward of his estate, kept others vp, who would haue kept others downe. Thanks to so high discerning, which found that when Soueraigntie could not repress liberty, benefits could more strictly then treason take it prisoner. Nor hath hee yet inflicted so much as exile vpon any of them, knowing it a banishment that they forsooke his iustice. And that he detaineth them, is out of his mercy: for boulder were they, and of better countenance could they be, when each had his discontent; then now when they haue prooffe in themselves, & the world sees it apparantly how vnworthily they had placed it. *Marcellus* the Ciuilian, wrighting vpon a booke of the Digestes, shewes three kindes of banishment: either from certaine places; or from al places, besides certaintie; either else a confining to some Iland. And though all these be vpon them, yet they had nothing of this punishment, did not one certaine place restrain them: & may they be confined to an Iland, if further mercy shall deliuer, & further occasion shal not imploy them, & that Iland so prepared; the one by their Soueraignes grace, the other in his prudence; they are not only like to be enlarged to a country, but find their country enlarged to them. Touching whome pittie is it they rather were not free for this argument, then bound by the other office. There are of them, whose births, courages, blouds, experiences, and conditions,

as



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as they were noble before they lost them; so nobly could they haue spoken of this argumēt, & I hope by this time haue found much cause to bee much forward hereabout. Yet is there one of the wold bring much grieffe vnto me, (though I wish him all good, in his weldoing) if he or his abettor, his Steward or Protector, or his faction, so many as are of the olde haunce for his cause should be able to prejudice me more for compassion: then I could draw safeguard to my selfe, by refraining euill desert, laboring good merit. But howsoeuer these, some of them much vnhappy before, in this estate at this time haue all tryed the Kings Maiesties grace in their seuerall particulars: in that notwithstanding they haue beene absent from the true ioyes of their Countrey, and from the affaires in hand, they may say as *Demetrius Phalerius* said, *heu inquieta negotia actionesque nostras quorum causa haecenus tantum virum nosse non licuit.* Well hath hee spent his time in this time where he was, and worthily who wrote the tractate of the vnion, wherein hee hath performed his taske, and made his worke proue his title. Many good lawes hath hee giuen vs to tye the vnion by: For besides what he writes like a Philosopher lernedly, & of the Kings goodnes multipliciously, let the soule of his Common-wealth be tryed, and you may easily discern whether iudgement can, or ought recommend his worke to a Parliament, to be made an Acte of: yet since he will needes trye

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his

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his owne inference by his owne applications, wee will likewise examine his whole worke, by the rule of his owne inuention. And first what cōscience can beleue, that he who could not be drawne to meddle with clannes in Scotland, would be content to abet a faction in England? These factions were of heate; and as they drew bloud; so sooner tēpted the bloud made the motiues more strong, the partakers more passionate; whereas in factions cold discretio can abide much pause, & the time giuen for respit giues it selfe a meanes for determinatiō of vprightnes. What conscience can beleue that he who by the English bloud in a Grand mother got three kingdoms, will not as much loue the English as the Scottish, by whō he had but prefermēt to one? what cōscience can perswade it selfe, that he who hath aduāced many here without desert towards himself, will not continue his honors for daily seruices for his own behoofe performed? what reasō can deny that the quiet we now enioy, & riches by that quiet, may not both be encreased, when our kingdom shall be abroad more feareful, & the more hāds shall bring the greater profits into the land? what reason can pierce into that no reason hath diued into, to take Gods prouidence away from cōtinuing, what only by his prouidence he hath settled. To a worke diuine adde not thoughts humane, what reasō can discern that men long combined, shall not rather holde together, thē men neare in oportunities held off



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off farre, for sleight seeming respects? And do any examples teach that richer subiects are not more fearefull of offending lawes? teach any examples, that men by nature, fight, language, condition, & occasion vnited, are vnited by vniō? Or teach any exāples that Monarchies well settled, cannot re-  
 presse any ils as they are growing? wel hath he therfore taught you to settle preuention, where domestiquely ye gouerne not. Frāce & Spaine haue their moments to be cōsidered, further thē into this our owne is to be looked. The one he tels you hath a custome, the other a pretext against Englād: & shal England refuse aide against them & all others, whē God ordinarily & extraordinarily offers it not obscurely? Thē increase, none helps England; be thou my countrey vnthankful; care not if Scotland stand as Ireland fell; disvnite Wales, as not needing it; seek abroad for friends, though they be Turkes; maintaine others quarrels to preserue your own safeties; set vp garilōs againe; make new Lords of Marches; draw more from the rich, frō the poore what they only haue; acte or exact, as if it were the last acte: liue as poore as Spaine, yet haue none Indies; as vncertaine as Italy, but lesse friended and fruitfull; desire helpe one day, who may giue helpes now; cry out then when your own haue lost you, & they who are vpō you, shall not know your language. Then may you war like the Switzers, when other Countries, who haue imbraced what you refused,  
 shall

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shall enioy with scorne of you, what you held, and might haue held before them, and them to either in dearenes, or at their deere rate. My native country, I craue pardon for my boldnesse, zeale hauing transported me as farre into passion of after successes to be doubted, if this stand thus doubtfull; as I hope it is to their surmises euent, who deeme that for want of issue in this Kings loyne, the two Countries may againe be seperated, though this now be embraced. But let me be tryed whether I perswade honest things, & I hope my vehemency shall not be imputed faulty. Soone do they breake vpon fit occasion, who are too soone repelled for no knowne cause. Why should not we wish them so wel as our Lawes? why shuld we wish our selues so ill, as their not being one with vs? Many will be the marriages in time, to make our Nations fully one: as many are the houses, they bring in with them of our own. What was it made the Romans and the Sabines friends, but the Romanes getting to wiues the Sabines daughters? they tooke them by violence, these haue opportunitie for loue: and thinke you we shal spare to goe for marriages into Scotland, when their daughters shall bee rich to maintaine vs in England? Thinke you many thousand occasions will not make vs enterchange, if this one occasion had but made the Kings roade to the rest. Be of courage therefore honourable Cities, and your friends of all qualities, and bee what you are,



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are; such an Iland as were a world to you, knew you no part of the world besides. Be what you are, and desire nothing rather to be *Quod sis esse velis nihil que malis*: Knowe this rather to be done, then intreaty, finished aboue, not imperfect beneath; all else howsoever seeming, more vncertaine then this yet not appeared. Let the honestie of this cause intice you, the honour moue you, the profit snatch you to it. Then gratitude know nothing better; the larger the Iland, the nobler the Nation; and who knoweth not that *Concordia res parue crescunt, discordia maxima dilabuntur*, leaue not these faggot stickes out of your band, these arrowes out of your sheafe. Better is that borne a great deale whereof men are ashamed, then that whereof they repent. If any should thinke it a shame to loose the name, let him know their helpe lost would make vs more repent: The people to be called by the name of the Countrey is but *Cognatum vocabulum rei*.

Now is this vnion on foote; much hath beene said therein; much written thereupon; Our Kinges affection is settled thereto. All these will do hurt, if this now do not good. If any should' gesse many the meanes which should debarre inconueniences to come, are now already taken from our good: he may haply fall into their opinien, who haue deemed either this should haue begun with the vnsetling of the rest; or with the setting of this onely expedient, the other haue beene vnsetled

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hand in hand. They were onely the Epicures sect, who would neuer enter into any other profession of Philosophy : yet were the Stoikes, and the Academickes both more learned and lesse vitious.

It is written of *Alexander*, that when it was tolde him, that an handsome man had gotten his sister with childe, hee made aunswere, that it was to bee graunted him to enioy his kingdome too. This sister of *Alexanders*, is not sought without leaue; is not defiled without vertue; hath her louer no lesse comely in parts and features.

In Ægypt it is written were great store of Crocodiles, there the dogges for thirst driuen to drink, did euer so lap in *Nilus*, as they were euer removing. Thisiest was broke vpō *Anthony*, after the Mutine flight that he caried himself like the dogs of Egypt. Shal we then haue receiued this Nation with applause? honored thē in our high Counsell of the Kings estate, and of the estate of the Kingdome? admitted them dignities? admitted them honours in titles, in possessions? receiued them with loue into our houses? crepte at their knees in the English Court? haue put our money into their pockets? put them into our fortes, strengthes, & Castles, and shall wee now make *meū* and *tuū*, the Scottish & the English, our selues & thēselues? Nay, rather let vs speake as heartily as the kinde  
man



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man did in *Terence*, *Hos nisi mors nobis adimet nemo*; Let vs in name and vertue be the same : let the good of both ioyne together , and the good of both put downe the ill of either. Some who neuer iudged aright what it was to liue so vnited, may rashly say they had rather dye then bee vnited.

He was but an young man in *Terence*, who vsed that perswasion for his affection onely , *emori malim* : but an olde man gaue this counsell out of long experience , First learne what it is to liue; if then that life displease, when thou knowest it, thou mayest bestowe this on thy selfe which thou now chusest.

*Plato* framed a definition of a man, that he was a liuing creature, going vpon two feete , and without feathers : which definition was mocked by shewe of a Cocke, his feathers pulled off: But the Authour of the tractate of the vnion, hath giuen this man , if you will hence deriue him, foure legges to walke on.

So strongly therefore vnderfet, hee aduencured that discourse, knowing belike , that the perswasion of iust thinges pleased the Gods ; and that the people of Athens would not kill *Phocion*, if they repented a little.

Mildly they yet proceed, for they cal his iudgemēt

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his wit rather giuing a backward commendation of his labour spent, then the cause, vse of his arguments in behalfe thereof. Sure hee was some great Councillor who gaue the King that aduice, that he should not liue out of his Countrey wherein he was borne, and from it (that was not to let his *Nu-men* be felt in it) together.

What, though hee hath pleased many of that Nation: ought the well doing of a few be his onely care? Is the rewarding of his seruants, all that falles into a Kings studie? for his cōmon wealthes good? haue we had so much benefit by their coming, and shall we deny them share of that we enioy by them? They haue bred vs a King, they haue brought him safe, they haue brought him euery way perfect; of nature, good; learning great, vertues many; of issue fruitfull; and on his head a Crowne, before he came here: Matched most royally for the qualitie of her bloud; gallantly for her person; and aboue all for the goodnesse residing in her royal self, & her happines in her sweet issue, descended from her: And shall we now vse Scotland as an olde scabbard, or a Kings cradle. *Vnditius* a bond-slaue in Rome, for preuenting only by relation vnto a Cōsul, the treasons of the sons of *Treuitelij*, and of *Brutus*, was not onely made free; but a law made for the freedome of all bondslaues, called *Lex vindicia*: by which euer afterwards none of them could be taken by force, or haue violence offered



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ferred to them by allowance : How much rather ought we to enact some memorable record vnto posteritie, whereby this great blessing from that Nation may be acknowledged vnto it? the rather they hauing demeaned themselves so honorably, as to giue vs iust satisfaction of their valours: An excellent cause now God will haue vs friends, why we should loue entirely.

This is a course fitter for vs to embrace, then our strengths refused by other aduersities, to hope of our succours. But now rather to speake a little in behalfe, and for vse of our owne cōmon-wealth, then to perswade their particular good in it. As our lawes are the best, or we must say so of them, who liue vnder them, of all Nations, whereby our kingdome is gouerned; so the ciuill lawes being no such strangers vnto them, somewhat would soone be established; whereby we might get the benefit of theirs, by the assent of ours, to the cōsent of both. Which while it is in indeuor, they by precise looking into ours, wil get reformed some abuses crept in by time, custome, or misse-interpretation; such as my Lord Chancellor in his integritie shewed daily, and diuers of the graue Iudges, and chiefly the chieftest of them, as oportunities serue, for conscience sake, do amend as they apply them, and but by such an occasion as this, will hardly euer be moted vpon.

Of this argument, for agreement of both lawes,  
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(except I be deceiued ) a friend of mine ; and worthie to bee yours , hath very lately , verie shortly written: comparing the Grandes, the Titles, the rules, and right vse of both, ( as his occasion led him ) so learnedly, so fully, and so experiencedly together ; as the two common Wealthes may soone bee taught, that there is nothing disagreeing in essence betweene them, nothing of the ones substance wanting to the other, (the termes and practises onely hauing giuen the shewe of difference hitherto.) But I cannot iudge whether hee will bee iudged woorthie any great employments, since *Hanno* was but vnthankfully deakt withall, who first tamed a Lion. It were pitie a Common-Wealthes man should haue more encouragement in his trauell, then his conscience of well doing.

To returne to my purpose ; if for many seene benefits, which wee cannot chuse but reape, besides the satisfaction of our Soueraigne, no way were motiue to a heartie Subiect, there should ingrowe any inconueniences; the Kinges desire standing in heede of the Acte *Trimolius* the true Corinth, would take part against his owne brother, for the good of the Common-Wealth. But these doubtes stands like the Mountaines *Anaxagoras* was asked whether at the last they would not bee water; whose aunswere was, in time they would, *Tempus edax rerum, &c.* Time doth worke



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worke what no man knoweth in the faithfull Turtle Doue.

*Martial* was very angrie with a fellowe, who would needes knowe thinges vppon supposalles, as how hee would behaue himselfe if hee were rich; and shutting him off with this aunswear; if men can foretell how thinges shall succede, how wilt thou behaue thy selfe, if thou becomest a-Lion? *Quenquam posse putas, &c.* *Isocrates* was troubled with the vncertaintie of the time, how hee might behaue himselfe, when hee might haue a boxe on the eare; for then, and not else hee would weare a Helmet. This cause great Cities, and your friendes from Story writers flying away so wilde, sits now as gently by vs, as *Tubero* the Pretors Pye did, which came strangely to his hand, and of which the South-sayers foretolde that much good would come with her, were shee accepted; if otherwise, much ill to the Pretor: her hee pulled in peeces, but not without his owne mischiefe.

In Phrigia and Silenus was a great earthquake, which consumed many houses and mortalles; The Oracle saide, some rich thing must bee throwne into it: Death of a Kinges Sonne onely stopped the gaping of the earth in those places. Here is no earth-quake, but heauens shine: here is life and renowne to our Kings Sonne, our worthy Prince, ours and many more

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kingdoms hope. The Oracle sayes not, dye sonney, but liue all friendly together. *Tully* in the dreame of *Scipio* saith, that all they who haue saued their Countrey, haue helped their Countrey, haue encreased their countrey, haue in heauen a place appointed them, where euerlastingly they shall ioy. That was the cause why the Ambassadors of the Carthagenians and the Sirenenses were contented to make the condition of being buried quicke, where they challengd their bounds: So great was their loue to the enlargement of their Countrey; a desire euer prosecuted, and neuer but weakely by *Darius* in *Quintus Curtius* his time only gaine-said, that a kingdome might be too great. On the other side remember but how *Themistocles* dealt with *Zerxes*, for the ouerthrow of al Greece, because his countrey had ingratfully respected him. And had not *Artaxerxes* hung vp my *Hamon*, *Mardocheus* had beene betrayed in his owne Countrey beyond the Kings disposition, but that did I beare, though it cost me deare. As I forgiue, so I forget, and returne to this: If the English haue not generall peace, which they shall not till they bee knowne generally strong (for yet forreiners may bee suspected but to pry into our state, to breake or holde, resolving neither but by the first instructions) they will ere long grow so vnanswerable of Taskes and Subsidies, that the Collectors shall finde them, as in another common-wealth was scene, playing in  
the



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the streetes, a shrewd signe, that they be no money keepers. But if they once see our fortune sitting, they will then thinke she will so finde the benefit of her ease, as shee will euer be knownewhere to bee found. Now is our ground ready, what seede wee sow, we shall reape. This cause talkes nothing of inconuenience, yet the man, though good, though iust, though innocent, is feared, *vir bonus, iustus, innocens timetur*, pouertie is pretended, saith *Martiall*. it is not pouertie to haue nothing. *Non est paupertas Nestor habere nihil*. The fault sure is this, the poore seekes friendships vnworthy affections, *quod colit ingratus pauper amicitias*. Nay they haue their peculiar riches where they are, in as large a maner as we make account of ours here. But this is to tennice freely, but not to denise kindly. Many I see knowe how to counsell; few finde I, who can tell how to make the Confull. The King should haue long hands, as farre reaching as Kent and Kentile; and would you haue the King feed with one gloue on, & another off? It would be said of him, *Totus & in toto per totum totus & omnis*, *Esse omnis dū vis incipis esse tuus*: that he then beginneth to be his owne, when he will be all, and in all, and by all, and all e- uery where. And though some pretend fables, how the Wolfe, by at the first getting an house to breede in, at the last hauing many litters, helde it by strength against the owner: Yet what can these things moue in ordered cōmon wealthes, where

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no more interest is attained, then the lawes admit right to: *Tully* in his pleading for *Roscius*, shewes how many wayes the lawes punish those, whose demaundes are greater then the lawes doe allow. The like doth *Crassus* in *Tully*. Our lawes will maintaine vs in our owne well enough; though our conditions I hope will not make them pay so deare, as the English did when they went to fetch the King and Queene from Scotland.

This may be giuen to the King for them; indeede, to them for vs; the rest they shall enioy, as the lawe will, for what they buy, by the law they may call their owne. Demurre then no longer my great and deare friendes, vpon this argument, but returne this aunswere, that *Nep-tune* did by the Raine-bowe *Terram esse communem*. Which though he durst not defend against *Iupiter*; yet you haue *Iupiter* on your side, against whome to contend were madnesse, as with an equall doubtfull; with an inferiour base. *Seneca* sayth of power, that if it inuite to any thing, nay, if it intreate ought, it compelles it. Easie it is not to write against him in his gouernment, who can score a man out of his gouernment: *Non facile est in eum scribere qui potest proscribere*. *Fauorinus* the Philosopher, admitteth *Hadrian* the better iudgement, because he commaunded thirtie Legions. The matter then beingeuen, let vs not contend vnequally, for had not nature seated this kingdom within



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within you, you might well haue helde it, without you. Well had *Scipio Emilian* discharged this Censorship, had the *Quirites* giuen him a fellow Pretoor; not giue him one. Think not vpon what *Cato* saith, that it is not to be marueiled at, if what a man thinkes an excellent good, he be loath to share with another; But let *Plutarch* teach you to gaine authoritie, and power with expedition: so neither smoake shall make the fire vnpleasant in the kindling; nor enuie lay snares to impeach glorie by in the framing.

If longer you stay vpon further deliberation, this businesse hauing beene determined by the Committee in heauen, *Scipio Emilian* must nedes tell the Senate, that neither of the Consules is fit for the seruice of the Common-Wealth: For *Seruius Sulpitius Galba* was poore, and had nothing, and *Valerius* could neuer thinke he had enough. Yet since the men on both sides are seruiceable, make their conditions as agreeing amongst themselves; so fit for the Common-Wealth: let the one inioy more, the other couet lesse; so shall both encrease apace, and *Rome* be well serued.

If any obiect their affections bee vnlike ours, that comes not out of nature, but custome. As the Ayre is tempered, sayeth *Tully* in his Diuination; so are the children spirited, their wittes formed, their maners,  
their

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their minds, their bodies, and the actions of their life. Looke in the English and Scotchmens faces: see whether *Caucasus* haue begot them vpon hard rockes. Our climate is the same; our temperatures alike; if any thing within our gouernment make vs differ, it is but custome. They haue not so many Cities as we; they followe feeds which we do not; yet finde I not, but we are prickers as well as they, and if it be obserued what store of Ritters we haue got, it may be feared that two Cheuallers, being not *Castor* and *Pollux*, may be driuen to one Chiual, to ride on besides the saddle. But let *Herodotus* write as much as he will of the kingdom of custome: for though *Darius* could not get the Grecians to eate their dead Fathers for any golde; nor the Indians to burne theirs for any iron; because of the contrarieties of their vses in both: yet assure I my selfe, this Nation honours the King with so much zeale; he is able to teach the, with so much skill; embrace vs with so much affection, especially if wee bee once vnited in indissoluble bounds; as I knowe not any custome may be fit for them to leaue, shall not be discontinued, nor any new lawe to be put in vse, to which the first day shall not finde them accordant. *Si fingere me putas, istud salutemus.* They do many of them vnderstand what was *Cyrus* his counsell to leaue thole mountaines Countries, and descend into the plaines, there with the times to change the manners, as *Tully* writes to *Atticus*, where as the  
seedes



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seedes are like the plants, the liues of men are like the countries. There shal they best learne to obey, where the King sits highest to rule: there shall they heare him clearely, where *Ille regit dictis animos & pectora mulcet*. For this deede done none shall need to looke backe into his conscience with affrightment. For this name taken, none shall need to vnderstand the Nation to be embased: For this kingdom enlarged, none shall finde their owne states impaired. As touching vnion with others and their abbetments, ye may there iudge of your aduices, among those who haue learnedly and grauely refuted that fourth question of the booke intituled *Vindicta contra tyrannos*: Wherein is discoursed, whether one Prince may ioyne with the subiects of an other, who take vpon them armes for defence of defending religion. My purpose being to be short, shall rather insinuate my zealous wish of home-combining then forraine vses, the one naturall and politique; the other politique alone if so much; I aske your body but within your girdle; your head couered onely with your hat; your garment to be grauer then partie-coloured: and offer you *Fraunce* and *Spaine* for examples, limited by those bounds, nature her selfe hath appointed vnto them, the Montes, Perrenæi, the Sea, the Alpes, with the rest. Nor is it constantly held, that our name of *Britans* should bee deriued of *Brutus*, rather some hold we are called *Prittons*, of a

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word

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word which signifies a Marte or Fayre; of stuffe for which, this whole Island, as well al parts as any one part, Wales and Cornwall, as England and Scotland, is in one kinde or other replenished. Nor ought that worde of Marte seeme to haue lesse boundes then *Ciuitas*; which (as *Aristotle* writeth) signifieth a whole Common-wealth. As for our priuate goods, thogh I could answere *Publica priuatis sunt anteponenda*; yet let the stories bee but searched, how our forreine conquestes haue bene hindred by the opportunities the Scots haue taken in our absences; and how iealousies haue onely made vs diuersely combine our selues; they with *Fraunce*; wee with the house of *Burgondie*, they shall finde how likely it is, that priuate mens marchandize may be lost in the wracke of the generall fleet. Other obiections should I goe about to frame, such as pride or curiositie might suggest vnto me; as much as I haue heard should I endeavour to answere, the necessary themes of some mens seeming wise; I doubt much how I could swim from out their deluge. *Noahs* Arke, or *Chaucers* Trough being vnbuilt against such an inundation. Steeples stand not vp here as in the drownd countries of our lowe neighbours. There are no sea-markes appearing to direct; no castles, no forts, no citties to protect; hilles and mountaines are here ouerwhelmed, and the solutions of these following, would be the dissolution of the time spent  
about



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about them, and no resolution of any thing for the applying of Gods blessings to our vses; *Animo volenti nihil difficile* : while we say all will be subuerted, the lawes ouerthrowne, mens states taken away, the nations honor lost, and our dish well serued in, sliced into a gallemawfrey, ouerpeppered and saltbuttered: wee spread feares, doubtles, (God grant not hatreds largely) but discusse vpon inconueniences slowly. If to forward accordes the debate of this question happen, you will finde that neither the number of the Scottishmen, forreiners from their countrey; nor the ambition of the Nobles, though by some thought to challenge antiquitie before ours; neither the customes of the Nation differing from ours in whatloeuers, will debarre this proceeding, or not admit time and will for fitnessse. The like said of our auncient statutes, of the stories auncient, of vs, of our reasonable affections as wee now stand for our goods, and I dare boldly say, eyther their intendmēts lesse needfull, or their applications more profitable, or alterations more beneficial, will make vs more enioy this mornings breakfast, then all last weekes dyet. For neither doth the King affect other then our goods; or is himselfe vnable to iudge of them; nor doubteth but that there ought much deliberation to bee taken in a cause so important, much circumspection touching the proportioning out the particulars. These reasons haue moued me fee-

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ing that the King is to be defended in his desire as a good father of the Common-wealth; hath spared the bloud of our good countrey men, turned ill; hath incouraged the seruices of the well deserving, shewes himseife wise in his gouernment; louing in his affection, and industriously carefull of the weale publike; to take vpon me this license in writing, this zeale to my countrey in perswading. Which if it happen to mindes affected to let *Lucilii pecus esse liberum & quia velit pasci*, I hope with them mine endeouour shall finde fauour: for the rest, as it no waies becomes me to be vnciuill, as *Democrates* was to *Philip*: so if they shall thinke it rather an impotencie in me, not to spare mine affection to this argument; then in themselues to afflict me by whatsoever meanes: their wisdomes are of force to giue themselues content; and this being out and past from me, and dislikte, shall make me not like to passe out more to be submitted to censure. To conclude, long liue yett right honourable Citties, keeping peace in you, fiers from you, and traffique with you; so may you build your houles faire, keepe them neate, haue good store of money and bonds in your chestes; your Prentices grow free, your liueries Aldermand, your wiues Ladies, your children made Gentlefolkes, and your Cittie commodities be exchanged into the Courtiers reuenewes; as at this marriage if you will daunce, you make the contract



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tract sure, and till death depart: For though they  
and you lye in one an other of your houses; nay  
should they and you lye with one an other of  
your wiues and daughters; belecue me *non concu-*  
*bitus sed consensus facit Matrimonium*, say the Ciui-  
lians; Marry them and make the bond holy and  
vniolable, or expect no securitie that the  
grand-children in time to come, shall  
alwaies proue comfortable  
to the old folkes.

Catullus.

*Hymen o Hymenae Hymen*  
*adeft o Hymenae.*

*Sir Philip Sidney.*

God *Hymen* long your coupled  
ioyes maintaine.

***FINIS.***

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